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775 The SPI was founded in 1910, and among the first regional *inspetorias* to be formed was that of southern Mato Grosso, with present seat in Campo Grande. Under the administration of this local office came the "Caioás" who were calculated to be "the most numerous tribe of the south of the state" (Mato Grosso). In other words, while the founding of the SPI did not immediately affect the affairs of the vast majority of Brazilian tribes—and still today scarcely affects some groups—the Cayuá were at the other end of the scale, being among the first to be singled out by the Indian Service.

Founded at the instigation of Brazil's famous explorer, Indianist, and modern frontiersman, General Cândido Mariano da Silva Rondon, the *Serviço* reflected Rondon's concern for the Indians. They should receive some definition and guarantee of their rights, protection from frontier abuses, and guidance particularly of a non-clerical and non-sectarian sort, in the problems of adjustment to the new conditions facing them. It was common practice merely to sign over the souls of all the native inhabitants of this or that vast tract of Brazilian territory to some Roman Catholic order. The bland assumption was often made that in this way all was therefore arranged for the best of the respective Indians.[119] Rondon had seen at first hand many tribes in their natural setting and he was well aware of the abuses, secular and clerical, from which they suffered.

Specifically the plan of the SPI was to organize regional *inspetorias* and local posts, as many as were needed, and, where possible, new ones as soon as they were needed owing to a recent advance of the frontier. As soon as land became a question, the Indian territories were to be duly defined and registered. Complaints by Indians of land or other transgressions of Brazilians were to be lodged with the *encarregado* of their local post, and this officer was in all matters to serve as intermediary between whites and Indians. The *Serviço* would also play a positive role in urging the Indians to adopt measures which seemed to their best interests. Schools for Indians were to be established wherever feasible.

For many reasons, not our direct concern here, the effect of the *Serviço* has not always been exactly what it was designed to be. Among the Cayuá, the schools affect only a very limited number of children—even of those who happen to live in the local group where a post is located. There are no dormitory or transportation facilities provided—the very idea would be ridiculous and unheard of in the present context. Practically nobody outside the immediate area of the post is therefore affected by the school. Schooling is at the hands of the wife of the *encarregado* in at least two of the three posts of the Cayuá, and neither of these women in 1943 had even as much as a complete grade school education. Nor did either have any special conception of what kind of teaching Cayuá, as distinct from Brazilian, children might put to advantage. The children are taught allegiance, the national anthem, and national lore, and some of the children's lore with which Brazilians in general

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[119] Such vast territories are, however, assigned to Roman Catholic orders still today.

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grow up. It is scarcely conceivable that these things can have much meaning for Cayuá children. Some attempt is made to teach elementary reading and simple numbers, but it would be a surprise to the writer to learn that any important and lasting result is achieved in this. The number of children receiving instruction is small in relation to the untaught; school is held for only a small part of the year and is quite irregular. The level of teaching is low, unprofessional, and little adapted to Cayuá needs or comprehension. The result is simply that the school as a factor of acculturation certainly cannot be great, particularly in relation to its potentialities. Cayuá schools are not attended by Brazilian children but only by Cayuá (1943), which closes one other possible avenue of Brazilianization.

Two principal results of SPI policy stand out in the case of the Cayuá. One is the confinement of the indigenes to reservations which have been assigned them and whose limits have been drawn and recorded; and the other is that the Cayuá are now guaranteed freedom from any large scale attack on their persons or rights, either by whites or by other Indians This was not formerly the case when they were subject, as has been mentioned, to attacks of both Indians and white settlers.

In general the Cayuá are now allowed to work out their destiny as they see fit so long as this does not raise a troublesome question on which the *encarregado* would have to take a stand. The *encarregado* generally keeps a light finger on the local pulse, often informally through his Cayuá house servants or other favorites. Often, if not always, he makes the real decision in naming the *capitão* and *sargento*, the civil or police authority in the local group. These officers would presumably look to the *encarregado* for backing if their position in their own groups were for some reason not equal to a difficult situation. This dependence is more likely to be true of groups located within easy range of the post, however, than of those at considerable distance. SPI practice, as observed by the writer in southern Mato Grosso, does not seem calculated to develop self-reliance in the Cayuá; rather it is aimed merely at keeping some sort of opportunistic peace in white-Cayuá relations.

The attitudes of local settlers toward the Indians, often expressed openly, and, in any case, obvious in their behavior toward the Cayuá, is one of tacit superiority. The Indians "are not really people" (*gente*); they are merely "forest creatures," "children" (*"bichos do mato," "crianças"*). And often, when not cheated or threatened, they are treated with an attitude of amused contempt. In some respects both the *encarregados* of Cayuá posts known by the writer shared more in this widespread point of view than in the high-minded idealism of the SPI creed.

As far as is known, no special effort is made by the SPI Cayuá posts to improve agriculture or introduce new crops or methods. It is possible that some of the Indians may learn new ways from working in the clearing (*roça*) of the *encarregado* or that he may casually suggest some new practice to them or jokingly chide them for doing something which he considers useless

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somewhat by the fact that many of the local Brazilians live in a manner not markedly different, in the missionary view, from that of the present Cayuá. (This is not true of a majority.) The direct influence of the mission here, like that of the SPI post itself, is concentrated in the one local Cayuá group and scarcely filters beyond, except by verbal account. Much of the nominal adherence of some of the local Indians to the mission seems to be based on its material advantages. The use of sewing machines, gifts of food and clothing, and suggestions concerning remedies, health, and particulars of domestic art are the reward of those who attend the prayer meetings and informal services, and who in general associate themselves with the mission.[116] Summing up the mission influence in the South to date, it could certainly not yet be called profound, even among the Cayuá where the mission is located, and it is largely absent elsewhere.

The *Inspetoria do* SPI which administers the Indian affairs of the Cayuá area is located at Campo Grande and was one of the first, if not the first, to be established. The local post which has jurisdiction over the village of Taquapiri, the particular group from which materials central to this monograph were secured, was established rather recently, about 1930. This post, "Benjamin Constant"—SPI posts are generally named for famous men of Brazil, is some twenty miles distant from Taquapiri over a two-rut oxcart road, also passable in the dry season and with difficulty by motor trucks.[116]

The children of Taquapiri do not go to school and very likely do not even know what school is, though some of their cousins twenty miles away at the post are at least aware of schools.[117] The Cayuá of Taquapiri may be visited by the *encarregado* as few as two or three times a year.[118] Such visits entail

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[115] There may, however, be some interest of a spiritual sort as well. A group of Cayuá men from our village, including a shaman in training, made the twenty-five mile trip with us to the post one time on foot, partly to visit the missionary, to hear her play her accordion and sing hymns with Guarani words. There was, probably, as much musical interest—unusual songs with Guarani words—as spiritual interest.

[116] Motor trucks pass by Taquapiri once or twice a week during the dry season, or less often, on their way to Nhu Verá. Taquapiri is a good half-mile from the road, and the Indians know the trucks principally only by sight and sound—they are simply of another world. When as many as two trucks a day go by—as happened once or twice during our stay, it is stated by the local settlers that something unusual must be afoot. There are no public garages or fuelling places, that the writer knows of, in the entire region because there are not enough motor vehicles to require it. Gasoline is simply carried along by the trucks themselves or may occasionally be bought in cans in some of the larger towns.

[117] The Cayuá children are not greatly different from many local Brazilian children in this ignorance of schools, however, for probably a majority of the latter will grow up and die with no formal schooling. There is no school of any sort for the settlers in the region about Taquapiri and only a poor elementary one at União itself, the nearest "center," but too far to travel for schooling.

[118] There was no occasion to observe this frequency. We were merely told by the *encarregado* that he made it a point to visit Taquapiri every few months. He came twice during our entire five month stay, one time being when he accompanied us to visit Taquapiri initially.